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622 554 This was dependent entirely, of course, on the personality of the man himself. But the fact that the chief was not necessarily a great warrior is of considerable importance, in that it indicates that his position and power were due primarily to wealth and social prestige, secondarily to birth, and very little, if at all, to prowess in war. The war leaders *(toa)* were those who had distinguished themselves as men of great valor and skill. I have never heard of a man becoming a chief through being a great warrior.

The Chief's Domestic Establishment

622 344 The house of the chief was, of course, larger and more elaborate in its decoration and paraphernalia than that of an average man in his tribe, but other wealthy members of a tribe, and particularly great warriors, had houses equally fine. The main feast and dance area of the tribe *(taha ko'ina)* with its dance floor *(tohua)* and surrounding platforms *(paepae)* was in front of the chief's house. Associated with the feast place and its dance area was commonly a temple *(me'ae)* and nearby, a large warriors' clubhouse. In other words, in addition to the large platform on which was the house of the chief himself, and other smaller platforms for houses of servants, storage, and the like, there were extensive platforms and buildings in close proximity and connected with his house, which made altogether an elaborate establishment.

622 574 609 [696] The chief's house was a place of refuge for strangers and members of his tribe that were fleeing from the personal infliction of punishment, which was the common law of the Marquesas. A stranger *(manihi'i)* in a valley taken under the protection of the chief and entertained by him was *tapu* and hence protected against any harm from members of the tribe. Melville's account of his stay in Tai-pi valley gives a good picture of a practical application of this rule. The old saying was, *"Mea tapu te manahi'i; ua tapapa te haka-iki"* (The stranger is sacred, the chief entertains him).

The Chief's Family

622 592 624 The personnel of the chief's household was made up of his primary or sealed wife *(vehine faĥ tapu)*, secondary husbands and wives *(pekio)*, his natural and foster children, relatives of his own and of his wife, and servants—always members of his tribe, who had put themselves voluntarily in his service by taking refuge at his house for the sake of protection, or those whom he had summoned to serve him. The most important of all the chief's servants was his fire tender, always a secondary husband of his primary wife, undoubtedly for the reason that this position was one of great trust and responsibility. The *tahu ahi* (fire tender), as this man

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was called, had for his function the making and tending of the fire on which the chief's food was cooked. This duty required a person who could be absolutely trusted by the chief, as the greatest dangers to which one in a position of power could be exposed were those influences that came from evil spirits, from the contamination of contact with womanhood, and particularly through witchcraft—all of which evil influences were supposed to enter the body most easily through food or through the fire on which the food was cooked. Regarding the *tahu ahi*, Krusenstern says (16, p. 167):

> A very important member of the royal family is the firemaker: his duty consists partly in being always near the king's person to execute his orders; but the business wherein his master generally employs him, is of a nature perfectly characteristic of the monarch of Nukahiwa. On quitting his house for any time, his firemaker does not accompany him, but must, in every sense, represent his person with the queen, who finds in him a second husband during the absence of the first. He is the guardian of her virtue, and his reward the enjoyment of that which he he has to protect. The kings of Nukahiwa probably have a notion that it is better to share with one, what would otherwise be divided among several; but perhaps the duty of firemaker is only a royal luxury with him.

That the *tahu ahi* was actually regarded as a guardian of his chief's wife, I have never gathered from informants. This seems to be merely Krusenstern's interpretation of a custom which he did not understand.

The function of the *pekio* or secondary husbands and wives, in the family was chiefly that of aiding in the work connected with the household, with food gathering and preparing, getting firewood, and so on.

THE CHIEF'S SERVANTS

Most of the manual labor in the household of a chief or a chiefess was done by those persons who, following their own desire or through force of circumstance, had become dependants in the household of the chief. According to a Tahu Ata informant, these servants were called *nohoana* (live or dwelling)—in other words, those who dwelt with the chief. These, it was explained, cleaned the house and around it, tended the bed space, and did the cooking, the water-carrying, and the like. They were mostly people who came to the chief seeking food, work, and a home. They lived in the house or houses near his sleeping house. According to this informant, it appears that the male and female *nohoana* lived together more or less promiscuously and were referred to generally by the term *vai noa* (literally, common water), the term used in general to refer to persons of a common sort, to those without distinction. When the chief needed more servants than came to him naturally, he sent his assistants to get them. If a *nohoana* drank the *popoi* water of a chief, he was killed.

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622 For one who had put himself in the service of the chief the only escape
592 (in case he found himself dissatisfied and was not permitted to leave) was
357 to seek the protection of another chief—in other words, to bond himself
689 with another. As long as he stayed in the household and under the protection of this other chief, he was safe. But if he returned to his home or to the household in which he had formerly served and which he had left without consent of his master, he was killed.

In Atu Ona on Hiva Oa the chief and the chiefess had each of them both men and women servitors. Some of the servitors lived in the sleeping house with the chief and the chiefess, while others lived near it in their own houses. These servants were always *hua'a*, which here evidently means members of the same tribe rather than close blood relatives. A chief or chiefess picked out those whom he or she desired for service, and the persons thus selected came at their bidding. If the servitor, angered or discontented, took it upon himself or herself to leave the chief's service without permission, the chief summoned one of his war leaders (*toa*) and sent him to the offender's house to kill him. At Pua Ma'u the relation-
592 ship between the chief and his servants was exactly the same as that just
622 described in Atu Ona; they came to his service at his bidding, some lived
357 in his house, others near, and they were subject to his authority in the same way. In Haku Ui on Nuku Hiva I was told that the servants in the chief's household were commoners belonging always to the chief's tribe, never members of a conquered tribe, and always people who came voluntarily or were summoned, and who lived in their own houses near that of the chief or chiefess. In Haka Ui these people could rise to be fishermen but never to be *tuhuka*, skilled craftsmen, or executives. Since such service was chiefly dependent upon the ability of a man through wealth to support those in his service, it seems certain that there must have been in the tribe other households than the chief's with similar dependents.

Terms applied to servants of the dependent type which we have been describing above varied considerably. The terms *nohoana*, and *vai noa* have already been mentioned as being used on Tahu Ata. On Hiva Oa, at Atu Ona, *eu ahi* and also *nohoana* were used. At Pua Ma'u on the same island servants were called *po'i to'o hana* (literally, people-take-work); at Haka Ui on Nuku Hiva they were called *kato* or *komoto*. Dordillon gives *fa'e toa* (literally, all the household) as a term meaning all the servants, *pahina'eo* (domestic), *e he'e imu* (handmaid), *tautua* and *enata ma te kaokao* (servitor). The term *kaokao* occurs frequently in the legends recorded in the native dialect, being applied to men who accompany chiefs as attendants. Literally translated this means "man (or men) at the side."

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The housework that required skill or was sacred was performed by the relatives of the chief and chiefess. The female relatives beat the cloth and made the mats, minor household utensils, and so on. Male relatives made the other utensils, implements, weapons, and the like, and also planted, collected, and prepared food. Competent members of the family aided the chief in directing tribal affairs.

Etiquette

There was little formality or etiquette in the association of the chief with his people. On Nuku Hiva it is said that chiefs and chiefesses were always addressed as *haka-iki*, or *ha'a-te-pe'iu*. For example, *"o au nei, tu u haka-iki"* (It is I, my chief) or, *"Ua he'e oe, tu u haka-iki, ma te vaka?"* (You will go by the canoe, my chief[1]) or, *"Ka'oha nui te ha'a-te-pe'iu"* (Cordial greetings to the chiefess). *Te-ï'i* and *te-iki* (shortened *te a'iki*, the chief) were terms used in addressing a young male chief. The corresponding forms for chiefly maids were *tahia* or the shortened *ti'a*, signifying noble, high born, gracious. Both of these terms have come in modern days to be favored prefixes to personal names and hence are very common; but in the ancient days they were evidently used in a much more restricted sense.

In Pua Ma'u all members of a chief's tribe were allowed to enter his house freely, and without formality, but persons not of his tribe were not accorded this right. On Ua Pou, on the other hand, commoners were not allowed to enter the house of the *papa haka-iki* or the *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. This subject is discussed elsewhere under the description of the various aspects of sacredness of chiefs and chiefesses, which in Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva prevented commoners from entering chief's households but which produced no such regulations in Hiva Oa. The important matter in connection with etiquette is the complete lack of that tendency toward the elaborate formality characteristic of Tonga, Tahiti, and Hawaii.

Dress and Insignia

In the main the chief and chiefess wore the same style of dress as other members of the tribe, but on account of their wealth they had cloth and ornaments in greater quantity and of finer quality. *Hiapo*, a red *cloth* made of banyan bark, was *tapu* to *tama haka-iki*, first-born males. There were two things only that were definitely restricted to chiefs and chiefesses and that may be called chiefly insignia: the *tahi'i*, a pandanus leaf fan with carved handle; and the *to'o-to'o-pio'o* (*toko-toko-pio'o*), a thin staff, approximately six feet long, at the upper extremity of which was a band about three inches wide made of colored sennit cun-

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619 344 exhibition of food; all around this was a series of platforms which were assigned to the various classes of the population as grandstands. Attached to the regular *tohua* would be, first, the altar platform, which was the seat of the ancestral gods; then a seat for the chief and his immediate family, and after that the platform for the priests, that for the *tuhunga*, and that of the warriors, a large affair having a permanent house which was taboo for women; lastly, there were a platform for women and children, and a big platform for visiting members of other tribes. A new *tohua* was usually built for the eldest son of the chief, an act which raised the status of the chief's family and the tribe.

619 778 [782 784] The tribe also had one or more sacred places in the hills which were used for human sacrifices and for the final disposal of the dead. There were also the sacred place of the fishermen and the great food pits. All this property belonged to the tribe, the fact of tribal membership entitling anyone to its use.

The Household

592 595 The Marquesan household was polyandrous, there being usually two or three men to one woman, while in the household of the chief there might be eleven or twelve men to three or four women, one head wife and subsidiary wives. Well-to-do households would usually add one or even two wives to the establishment some years after the initial marriage of the household head. All members of such a group had sexual rights in each other, the arrangement constituting a sort of group marriage. A chief or head of a rich family would sometimes arrange a marriage with a young woman because she had three or four lovers whom he wished to attach. The men would follow the woman; in this way the family head could build up the man power of his household. Only the poorest households at the lower social levels were monogamous, and there was much envy of rich households by poor ones.

592 Household, rather than family, is the proper term for the basic social unit of Marquesan society. Households were graded

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Households were graded
in prestige. The basis of the grading rested primarily in man power; the more active adult males the household had, the more it could manufacture, the more work it could do, and the more wealth it could accumulate. There was not much prestige, however, in a mere hoarding of wealth; it was conserved only to be expended at the time of big ceremonials, when the total wealth and the amount of disbursement at feasts were important factors in determining the relative prestige of various households.

There was a consistent attempt to make hereditary the higher prestige status, but the groupings never became rigid and the various households in reality were always going up or down on the social scale. Social rank was concentrated on the eldest child, through whom the whole household attempted to raise its position. Although the eldest child inherited the status of the household, if this was not maintained by feasts and ceremonies, some other household, working hard together for advancement, would raise their position and outdistance the older and better-established group. Since there was a good deal of vertical mobility for the household and also for the individual, social classes were not fixed.

The household had an elaborate physical establishment. There was a large sleeping house with magnificent beds. The house, which was quite perishable in itself, was erected on a stone foundation; the larger the stone used, the greater the prestige of the family. The house platforms of prominent households would contain rocks weighing two or three tons, which were worked into platform walls and often had to be lifted by sheer man power to an elevation of four or five feet above the ground. The size of the stone thus advertised to all the world the number of men that the household could call upon to help in its house-building. In theory, a new house platform was built for the eldest son shortly after he reached puberty, when he was getting ready to take a wife. At that time all the men already in the household and all their relatives would work on the house.

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343 784 Near this dwelling house, but at ground level, there was a separate house for cooking and eating. Cooked food, being non-taboo, was kept away from the house so that it would not injure the *mana* of the house or its inhabitants. There was also a storehouse for food and for taboo objects. This was usually elaborately decorated, raised on posts, and set at some distance from the main dwelling. The old men past sexual age spent much of their time here, very often sleeping in the storehouse. The storehouse was taboo to women, and young men could enter only after a considerable period of sexual abstinence.

778 There was also, as part of each household establishment, a sacred place. Sometimes this was a small house on a high platform, sometimes only a curtained end of the sleeping house. [769] The sacred place was used in connection with the treatment of the dead, and for keeping ancestral skulls and sacred objects. [531] The dwelling house and storehouse were elaborately decorated with carvings on the posts and dyed sennit laid on in elaborate patterns on the rafters.

592 428 611 This establishment, representing a considerable outlay of labor, was inherited by the eldest child, unless the household was rich enough to build a new establishment for the heir. Even if the eldest child was a girl, she might inherit the household; there are numerous cases of women who became hereditary family heads, although households frequently adopted a boy for this position. The younger children had none save occupational rights in the household, although they did own the trees which were planted for them at the time of their birth.

592 611 The eldest child of either sex, or the child who was adopted to take the position of the eldest, became the official head of the household from the moment of birth or arrival. One is [773] struck by the fact that in the Marquesan myths the story of a man always ends when his first child is born; after this event, he drops out of the picture and the saga continues with the [564] adventures of the child. Of course, in practice, the father administered the household group until the child reached matur-

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ity, but socially the child outranked his father from the moment of birth.

The household consisted of the main husband, the wife or wives, and a series of subsidiary husbands. Even with plural wives the men in a household far outnumbered the women. The numerical disparity of the sexes on these islands was puzzling. The Marquesans swore that they did not practice infanticide, yet the ratio of males to females was about two and a half males to one female. It is probable that they did away with the younger girls but kept the practice from cultural notice. The motive for this is hard to ascertain, but it is reasonable to suppose that the group were merely breeding up to their food resources. In good seasons they had more food than population, the surplus being used to fatten pigs; but for bad seasons, when food was scarce, it was necessary to keep the population down by limiting the number of child-bearing women.

The average household consisted then of a household head, a group of other men, and a single wife. The second husband outranked the other subsidiary husbands and took charge of the household in the absence of the head. He also exercised preferential sexual rights with the wife, either with the first husband's permission or during his absence. In the chief's establishment all the husbands would have certain sexual rights with the chief's wife, but when there were a good many husbands, they lived in another house and were called over at the will of either the chief or the wife and rewarded for good service by a night's pleasures. In theory, all members of the household had sexual rights; even servants had access to the head wife if she so wished; actually, the first husband ran things and distributed favors, although it was to his advantage to see that his underlings were sexually satisfied, so that they would work for his house and not wander off with other women.

The household also included the children of the women, either real or adopted, and old people. The Marquesans were perfectly familiar with all the phenomena of physical paternity,

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but they simply did not count it in their social system. Questioned about his parentage, a native would say, "So-and-so is my real father, but the head of my household was Such-and-such, son of—" and go on back through the genealogy of the head. Even in the polyandrous households a woman always knew who the actual father of her child was, and presumably the head of the household also knew, but was not especially concerned about it.

When a man came into a household, he brought no property except his trees and a few personal possessions, but he shared in the products of the household and worked with the other husbands under the direction of the household head to accumulate wealth to raise the status of the group.

Only younger sons became subsidiary husbands, except in cases where a family was so poor that it could not give its eldest son a good start; he might then attach himself to the household of a chief or a wealthy family. There was no fraternal polyandry, brothers always attaching themselves to different households. A secondary husband could secede if he so wished and join another household. He could even set up a separate establishment of his own if he could accumulate enough wealth for the purpose, but this was difficult since the household head had a claim on his work.

The first-born child was really a symbol through which the status of the household was raised. A series of ceremonies was held in his honor from birth on, the size and expense of these ceremonies determining the prestige of the household. Adoption of a child from another household to take the place of the first-born, if there was no son, was a very expensive proceeding, involving a large exchange of household goods and pigs and the giving of feasts. Adoption of a first-born really fused two households into one, a fact which raised the prestige of the eldest child and, through him, of the group backing him.

The formal betrothal and marriage of the first-born with a mate from another household entailed still more elaborate property exchanges. It is interesting to note in this connection

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that except where the ceremony was used for purposes of social elevation, there was no formal marriage; the eldest son merely took, without ritual, the woman he wanted as wife for the establishment.

When a line which had been building itself up over several generations had wealth enough to rival the chief and was moving toward chiefly status, the chief often avoided conflict by marrying the daughter of the rising household, if first-born, to his eldest son, or else by adopting the eldest son of the other household to be his heir. The chief, in order to preserve his dynasty, had always to keep a weather eye on these rising families.

When the chief adopted the eldest son of another household, the child naturally moved into the chief's establishment. However, the activities of his original household were still focused on him. No other heir was set up by the latter and in time the household dissolved. The former family establishment was abandoned and might be left standing empty for generations. Occasionally some family would take up residence in an abandoned house, but such persons were considered squatters, for a household which had not built its own house had no social status. As a result of this attitude, the Marquesans spent the greater part of their time building house platforms. There was an amazing collection of stonework scattered about. One was seldom out of sight of abandoned house platforms in the valley, a fact which testified, not to a large or shifting population, but simply to the necessity for building a new house for the eldest son whenever the household group could afford it.

These adoptions and marriage alliances, which marked the rise in the status of the household and fixed new rank, required wealth, as did the proper ceremonies to maintain the child in his new position. Families were constantly trying to raise their status, which could be done only by accumulating and dispensing wealth. Man power was the outstanding requirement; the more adult males there were, the better off was the household. Since there was also a certain amount of feud and blood revenge

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554 584 592 even within the tribe, a family strong in man power could in such affairs triumph over a weaker household. Consequently the household welcomed a new man. The man's attachment to the household was voluntary, and persuasion was required to win his allegiance. The wife was very definitely held out as a lure to attract men to the household, so that the household head sought to get a woman who was beautiful and sexually desirable. Only the eldest son had rights in the household into which he was born; a younger son had to attach himself to some other household, and naturally went to the one where the woman was most attractive to him. The handsomest and most sexually skillful girls were sought in marriage by eldest sons, for the sexual attraction of the women promoted the prestige and power of the household.

562 592 595 The head of the household had authority as an organizer but as he was socially outranked by his eldest son from birth, he could not prevent secondary husbands from leaving at any time that they considered themselves ill-used. The effective power lay in the hands of the woman, since by the distribution of sexual favors she controlled not only the head husband but all the subsidiary husbands. In the ordinary household, where the head had simply picked a woman without formal ritual or gift exchange, she could leave at any time she wished. The wife made practically no direct economic contribution to the household. Her job was to please the husbands. After a woman had passed active sexual age, she would take up certain simple manufacturies. The woman who was herself the eldest child had a most enviable position. She owned the establishment and ruled openly, calling husbands at will and dismissing them if they displeased her. The head husband in such cases was merely the wife's deputy, who ordered the household according to her wish and direction.

858 Very little authority was exercised over children, and practically none over the eldest who, as has been explained, outranked the parents. These infant family heads could do practically anything they pleased. In the valley of Puamau, I

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his servant blow a blast on a trumpet. In case of dispute, the chief did not administer justice. All that he could do was to intervene through his messengers, announcing which side he would back. When the chief gave backing to one side, the other usually withdrew and the dispute died down.

The chief's household was of the regular type except that it was larger than the others, usually having extra wives attached to it. Honored visitors would be received into the house and extended the privileges of the head wife. A chief kept craftsmen in his household all the time; some were attached permanently, others were accepted as members of the household while working on an assignment. The household also included messengers, executives, and servants. On rare occasions, as has previously been observed, a woman might be the tribal head.

Next to the chief, and at times ranking above him in the social scale, stood the inspirational priest of the dominant tribal god. When inspired, he outranked everybody else, but, of course, inspiration was sporadic. He was usually a close relative of the chief, generally a younger brother, and was chosen for manifestations of possession. He held office for life. When he died, his successor would be possessed by the god. Occasionally a woman would be possessed; but man or woman, the inspired individual was almost always from the chief's family. There were, however, occasional cases of authentic possession by members of households other than the chief's, which were nevertheless accepted by the group. Beneath this highest inspirational priest were a number of other priests who belonged to lesser gods. These might be either men or women, their importance depending on their inspirers.

The higher inspirational priests were usually heads of households. The authenticity of possession by an important deity in the case of a secondary husband was likely to be questioned. A candidate for the priesthood was taboo while possessed. The higher inspirational priests could seize servants by thrusting a staff between their legs and telling them to follow. This demand